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Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 IO-14 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04

AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W
---------- 006437
P R 011625Z DEC 73
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 796
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 35
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9921

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS
FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING
30 NOVEMBER 1973

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE TEMPO OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA SLOWED THIS WEEK BUT THE EAST URGED RESUMPTION OF A FASTER PACE. DURING THE PLENARY SESSION ON 28 NOVEMBER, THE NETHERLANDS REP ELABORATED ON THE WESTERN PROPOSALS. THE SOVIET REP, IN THE FIRST FORMAL EASTERN REACTION TO THE ALLIED PROPOSALS, ARGUED FOR THREE MAIN FEATURES OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL: INCLUSION OF FOREIGN AN D
NATIONAL ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS; SIMULTANEOUS REDUCTION OF FOREIGN AND NATIONAL ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS; AND REDUCTION
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BY EQUAL PERCENTAGES PRECEDED BY A REDUCTION OF EQUAL QUANTITIES.

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IN BILATERAL CONVERSATION DURING THE WEEK, SOVIET AND POLISH DELEGATES IMPLIED THAT THE WASTERN SIDE MIGHT CONSIDER AN INITIAL FOCUS ON US AND SOVIET FORCES IF THERE WERE A FIRM LINK IN TIME AND SUBSTANCE BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND PHASES OF NEGOTIATION S.
ONE SOVIET DEL OFFICER INDICATED A CERTAIN WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER A COMMON CEILING APPROACH TO REDUCTIONS ON THE CONDITION THAT AIR FORCE MANPOWER BE INCLUDED FOR COMPUTATION OF TOTAL FORCES ON EACH SIDE. EASTERN DELEGATES ALSO CONTINUED TO PROBE FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON WHAT WESTERN SPEAKERS HAVE MEANT BY THEIR REFERENCES TO THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, AND HAVE DEMONSTRATED EASTERN CONCERN ABOUT POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION. END SUMMARY.

2. PLENARY DEVELOPMENTS. THE TEMPO OF FORMAL NEGOTIATING SESSIONS WITH THE EAST SLACKENED SOMEWHAT THIS LAST WEEK, WITH ONLY ONE PLENARY SESSION ON 28 NOVEMBER. THE WESTERN SIDE PROPOSED TO THE EAST THAT ONLY THREE MORE PLENARIES BE HELD PRIOR TO THE HOLIDAY BREAK, BUT THE EAST INSISTED THAT IT HAD FOUR SPEECHES TO DELIVER AND WANTED FOUR SESSIONS. THE AD HOC GROUP, AGAINST THE ADVICE OF THE US REP, DECIDED TO STAY WITH JUST THREE MORE ELABORATIONS OF ALLIED VIEWS AND TO REMAIN SILENT DURING THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION THE WEEK OF 3 DECEMBER.

3. DURING THE 28 NOV. PLENARY SESSION, THE NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) ELABORATED ON THE WESTERN PROPOSALS, NOT GOING BEYOND THE SUBSTANTIVE LINES ALREADY INCLUDED IN THE ALLIED PROPOSALS OR DEVELOPED BY PREVIOUS ALLIED SPEAKERS. IN KEEPING WITH THE AD HOC GROUP DECISION TO AVOID NEGOTIATING ON THE BASIS OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL, QUARLES REFERRED TO THE EASTERN APPROACH IN CONNECTION WITH EXPLAINING THE ADVANTAGES OF THE WESTERN PROPOSALS. THE SAME GENERAL TACT WILL BE USED IN THE REMAINING ALLIED PRESENTATIONS, WITH SLIGHTLY MORE COMMENTARY ON THE DISADVANTAGES OF THE EASTERN APPROACH.

4. AT THE 28 NOVEMBER PLENARY, THE SOVIET REP(KHLESTOV), IN THE FIRST FORMAL EASTERN REACTION TO THE ALLIED PROPOSALS, ARGUED FOR THREE MAIN FEATURES OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL: INCLUSION OF GROUND, AIR, AND NUCLEAR FORCES AND ARMAMENTS; SIMULTANEOUS REDUCTION OF FOREIGN AND NATIONAL ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS;
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AND REDUCTION BY EQUAL PERCENTAGES PRECEDED BY A ONE-SHOT REDUCTION OF EQUAL QUANTITIES. QUOTING VARIOUS WESTERN OFFICIALS IN SUPPORT OF HIS ASSERTION, KHLESTOV CLAIMED THAT THE PRESENT MILITARY SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE IS NOW STABLE AS THE RESULT OF A LONG HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. HE URGED THAT REDUCTIONS THEREFORE TAKE INTO ACCOUNT ALL THE ELEMENTS THAT GO INTO THE CURRENT MIX OF FORCES ON BOTH SIDES, INSISTING ON INCLUSION IN REDUCTIONS OF NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES. HE URGED

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SIMULTANEOUS REDUCTION OF FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES, CLAIMING
THAT THIS WOULD RESULT IN "THE ENDING OF THE GROWTH OF BOTH
CATEGORIES OF TROOPS AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AND WOULD LEAD
TO THE REDCUTION OF THE BURDEN OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES."
IN CONCLUSION, HE ARGUED THAT THE EASTERN METHOD OF REDUCTION WAS
MOST EQUITABLE, AND THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WESTERN
PROPOSAL WOULD PERMIT THE WEST TO GAIN UNILATERAL MILITARY
ADVANTAGE.

5. EASTERN BILATERAL THEMES. IN BILATERAL CONTACTS, EASTERN
DELEGATES THIS WEEK FURTHER DEVELOPED THREE PARTICULARLY
INTERESTING LINES OF COMMENTARY ON THE WESTERN APPROACH TO THE
NEGOTIATIONS:

-- WITH REGARD TO THE WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR AN INTIAL FOCUS
ON US AND SOVIET FORCES, SOVIET DEL OFFICER KVITSINSKIY
HINTED TO FRG REP THAT THE EASTERN SIDE MIGHT CONSIDER SUCH AN
INITIAL FOCUS IF THERE WERE FIRM ADVANCE AGREEMENT ON A PACKAGE
CONSISTING OF GENERAL DIMENSIONS OF REDUCTIONS OF FORCES IN BOTH
PHASES INCLUDING NATIONAL FORCE AND PROVISION FOR FIRST
PHASE INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES. POLISH DEL OFFICERS
IMPLIED FLEXIBILITY ON PHASING IN DUSCUSSIONS WITH US DEL
OFFICERS.

-- WITH REGARD TO WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR A COMMON CEILING ON
NATO AND WARSAW PACT FORCES IN THE AREA, KVITSINSKIY SAID THAT
COMMON CEILING APPROACH NOT NEGOTIABLE WITH SOLE FOCUS ON
GROUND FORCES BUT MIGHT BE CONSIDERED IF AIR FORCES WERE
INCLUDED FOR COMPUTATION OF TOTAL TROOP STRENGTH ON EITHER SIDE.

-- WITH REGARD TO WESTERN REFERENCES TO THE FUTURE DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, WESTERN DELEGATES REPORTED
NEGATIVE EASTERN REACTION TO SUCH STATEMENTS. A NUMBER OF
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EASTERN REPS PROBED FOR DETAILS ON JUST WHAT SORTS OF DEFENSE
COOPERATION THE WEST EUROPEANS MIGHT BE CONSIDERING, DEMON-
STRATING THEIR CONCERN ABOUT POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS
AREA. MOST EC MEMBER REPS ARE CONVINCED THAT INHIBITION OF
FUTURE EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION IS AN INCREASINGLY
IMPORTANT SOVIET GOAL IN MBFR.

THE EAST GERMAN REP (OESER), IN A BILATERAL CONTACT WITH
THE WEST GERMAN REP (BEHRENDS) AGAIN TOOK A HARD LINE ON ALL
LINES, AND THE EAST GERMAN APPRAOCH TO THE TALKS STILL STANDS
OUT AS THE LEAST FLEXIBLE AMONG THE EASTERN DELEGATIONS.

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SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 IO-14 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04

AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W
---------- 006451
P R 011625Z DEC 73
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 797
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 36
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T FINAL SECTION OF 2 VIENNA 9921

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS
FROM US REP MBFR

6. AD HOC GROUP ACTIVITES. THE AD HOC GROUP CONTINUED AN ACTIVE WORK PROGRAM IN THIS PERIOD, DEVOTING MUCH TIME TO PLANNING FOR THE FINAL TWO WEEKS OF NEGOTIATIONS PRIOR TO THE MID-DECEMBER BREAK. THE US REP URGED EMPHASIS IN REMAINING SPEECHES ON US-SOVIET FOCUS OF FIRST PHASE OF WESTERN PROPOSAL, WITH INTENT BEING EVENTUALLY TO CONVINCE SOVIETS TO START BARGAINING ON THESE GROUNDS. ALLIED REPS APPEARED GENERALLY WILLING TO TAKE THIS GENERAL TACK WHILE ALSO EMPHASIZING FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES, EXCLUSION OF NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES AND COMMON CEILING. THE GROUP ON 30 NOVEMBER APPROVED AND SENT TO THE NAC AND CAPITALS A REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS AND A LIST OF ISSUES ON WHICH THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE EXPECTED TO FOCUS FOLLOWING THE BREAK. THESE ISSUES WERE:

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A. ASSOCIATED MEASURES
B. FORCES TO BE REDUCED
C. PHASING
D. OVERALL COMMON CEILING
E. EUROPEAN RESERVATION

7. ASSESSMENT. THE ALLIES OPERATED THIS WEEK AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF SOME UNCERTAINTY CONCERNING THE DIRECTIONS THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL TAKE FOLLOWING THE HOLIDAY BREAK. THE INABILITY OF THE ALLIANCE TO AGREE ON THE TREATMENT OF STABILIZING MEASURES IS ONE SOURCE OF THIS UNCERTAINTY, AND PARTICULARLY BOTHERS THOSE ALLIES WHO ARE HESITANT ABOUT GETTING DOWN TO TALK OF REDUCTIONS. IT WILL NOT BE DIFFICULT FOR THE WEST TO ELABORATE ON ITS OVERALL POSITION IN GENERAL TERMS FOR THE NEXT TWO WEEKS, BUT FOLLOWING THE BREAK, THE ALLIES SHOULD REACH DECISIONS PERMITTING MOVEMENT BEYOND GENERAL ELABORATION OF PROPOSALS TO GET INTO SPECIFIC DETAILS OF SOME ASPECT OF ITS NEGOTIATING PROGRAM. IT APPEARS TO THE US DEL THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE IN FACT INDICATED SOME FLEXIBILITY ABOUT FOCUSING THE DISCUSSIONS INITIALLY ON US AND SOVIET FORCES, ALTHOUGH AT A PRICE WHICH IN TERMS NOW PRESENTED IS EXCESSIVE. A NUMBER OF ALLIED REPS IN VIENNA, HOWEVER, ARE NOT READY TO FOCUS ON THE QUESTION OF HOW TO EXPLOIT THIS POSSIBLE FLEXIFILITY BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE THE ALLIANCE MAY STILL AGREE TO DISCUSSING PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS AS THE NEXT STEP.
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